1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

342 in the center is the living room, and is used for the reception of guests and as the dining room. One of the two smaller rooms on either side of the living room is occupied by the chief of the family and his wife; the room opposite is occupied by the eldest son.

352 The largest part of each dwelling room is occupied by the *k'ang*—a small platform, two or three feet high, 354 built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm. In winter the *k'ang* is a wonderful invention. On it are spread felt rugs, and along the wall are folded and piled the covers and skins used at night. Three or four wooden cases along the wall contain the clothes of members of the family and the treasures of the mother (needle box, sewing materials, etc.), and there is also a small cupboard. Along 353 251 the wall, hung on pegs, are a gun, a stringed musical instrument, clothes, etc. In the corner of the room stands a jar containing fermenting pickled vegetables. 342 Part of the smoke of the oven escapes through a hole pierced in the window and the door is opened when the smoke is too heavy. Beams and rafters are like ebony, blackened by the oily smoke. Around New Year, the walls are whitewashed and two or three pictures of deities are placed on the walls. After a few days the whitewash turns brown and the walls are muddy again.

343 In the northeast corner of the courtyard is the kitchen and in this building the youngest of the married sons lives with his family—for in this blessed corner, according to the shaman, a large progeny is to be expected.[1] The two remaining corners are converted into stables—for these corners, again according to the shaman, are propitious for the reproduction of animals. Sheep and cows are fenced outside the courtyard.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

621 Since nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house and earn their living by the same means, their 184 substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated. Poor and rich, nobles and commoners, live in the same hamlets, help each other and go in and out of each

[1] This custom preserves the tradition that the youngest son is "guardian of the hearth." There are many evidences that in ancient Turco-Mongol society elder sons moved away at marriage and received at that time their share of the inheritance. The youngest son remained with the parents and received the residual inheritance. Hence, according to Vladmirtsov (*Régime social des Mongols*, 60), the term *otchigin* or *otjigin*, "prince of the fire," for the youngest son. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* 1: 176, Leiden. E. J. Brill, 1951) point out that *ot* is Turkish for "fire," while *chigin* is the medieval Mongol form of *tigin* (*tegin*), which though occurring in Turkish is in their opinion of Avar (old Mongol) origin. They point to another word for "youngest son," *otqan*, as "probably" deriving from ot-qan (khan), "sovereign of the fire."—O. L.

1; Schram M-5. (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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other's houses. Their children play together. In winter the women of noble and commoner families sit in each other's houses sewing clothes. In times of sickness or childbirth, the women of both classes help each other; they cradle and caress each other's children. When trouble breaks out between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law, all the neighboring women of both upper and lower classes come around to help patch up the quarrel. Rich and poor know each other's most intimate affairs and talk about them. They know all about each other's wealth or poverty, for the saying goes that the neighbor is the balance which weighs the neighbor's silver. The daily food of rich and poor is just about the same.

The intimacy in the daily family life which derived from the time when nobles and commoners migrated in small nomadic groups with their herds, pitching their tents one next the other, became more and more conventional when they settled down in small villages, and made it possible to bridge the chasm separating upper and lower classes in the official administrative hierarchy; but long before commoners were allowed to participate in the administration, the way had been prepared by the close familiarity in all the small hamlets between women of the two groups in the orbit of the family.

In such problems the overwhelming influence of the women and children is often overlooked. The first step in the leveling of social conditions between nobles and commoners was not set by any order of the T'u-ssu, but by the women and children in their daily familiar life.

The distance between rich and poor families in such a society as that of the Monguors is not so marked as in our society. The sons of the rich work in the fields just like the sons of the poor. They work side by side with the hired men. In the same way the daughters-in-law and daughters of the rich do all the household chores, and go to the fields to do the weeding and to bring in the harvest, as do the wives and daughters of the poor. Only on holidays are they better dressed and decked out with nicer jewelry.

Rich nobles and rich commoners alike hire four or five extra men to till their fields. They keep flocks of one hundred or two hundred sheep, herds of forty or fifty cows, and feed ten or more donkeys, two or three teams of mules, and one hundred or more horses, of which a couple are fast and handsome.

The man of ordinary standing hires one or two men, has fifty or one hundred sheep, ten or twenty cows, some donkeys, and a couple of mules and always has a fast, fine horse. Poor families working for the rich people earn some money and some grain and from some of the fields that they cultivate for the rich keep the harvests for themselves. With the herds of their employer they put a few sheep and a couple of cows or donkeys of their own. Sometimes they have a couple of days off to till their own small fields with the draft animals of their employer. They are dealt with in the

[P. 75-6]

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same way as members of the family, and the relations between employer and hired men are familiar and cordial.

In short there are among the nobles honorable families living in affluence, and among the commoners there are the same kind of fine families. There are among both nobles and commoners less honorable families and even dishonorable ones, addicted to opium, gambling, and the whole train of attendant vices that go with these depravities. Since most families are absorbed with the struggle for life, however, they have little time left to indulge in extravagant vices. Although the villages are not beds of roses, the sociability of life among the Monguors is an attractive feature of their society.

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIALS

621

The highest official in the village is the village chief or headman. Next come the two military commanders, called Ch'ien-tsong and Pa-tsong,[2] and finally the elders. The chief of the village is responsible to the T'u-ssu for his villagers. His powers are granted to him by the T'u-ssu, on the recommendation of the elders. The institution of the office of village chief dates from after the settling down of the Monguors under Ming rule. It was an innovation and an adaptation to a new economic and social status.

In the case of the two military ranks the tradition runs that in former times all the chiefs of villages were nobles who had been appointed as military commanders and who had jurisdiction over administrative as well as military matters. The clan institution having become during, and even before, the Mongol Empire a military institution, all subjects of the clan were enrolled in one or another military unit. No surviving tradition explains the present subordination of the military officers in the village to the village chief; but this subordination must have gone against the grain of the old Mongol military tradition—especially since the chief of the village may be a commoner, not a noble—and it may well be therefore that this subordination began under the Ming dynasty and was a mark of Chinese preference for civil authority over the Mongol tradition of military supremacy.

The institution of village elders may be regarded as a survival from the nomad past of the Monguors. Nomad clans once lived and thrived without chiefs, but never

[2] These two terms are local patois for the Chinese terms Ch'ien-chang and Pai-chang, "commander of a thousand" and "commander of a hundred," which in turn are translations of traditional Mongol terms. It should be noted that since the Monguor villages of recent times do not produce a thousand men at a time to place under a commander, we have here an illustration of the very common phenomenon of the degeneration of titles by stages which may be described as (*a*) high rank; (*b*) high-sounding rank; (*c*) humdrum rank, with no consciousness, in the minds of those who daily use the title, of its original significance. Mongol history is full of this degeneration of titles and honorifics, especially when they are borrowed Chinese terms.—O. L.

[P.76a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

622 701 represent the village in preparing and managing all celebrations held at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, such as the investiture, marriages, and funerals, the "opening of the seal," and the yearly diet or assembly. They also preside over the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages. Together with the elders they execute justice within the village, carry on the day-to-day administration, defend the rights of the villagers in their relations with the T'u-ssu, and of course oppose all enroachments on their own privileges.

623 The elders are appointed by the T'u-ssu himself, for an indefinite period of time. The T'u-ssu selects them from among the outstanding heads of families among nobles and commoners. Most of them are commoners; some are Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clan. In former times they were granted by the T'u-ssu a copper button to be worn on top of the hat. All matters concerning administration of the village, the apportioning of taxes, and difficulties among the villagers are discussed between the elders, the chief of the village and the two military commanders. Of them all, it is the elders who carry the most weight.

The elders can delegate some of their powers by appointing young commoners to assist the chief of the village, to organize meetings, to summon the villagers, on necessity, and to collect taxes.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES

623 • 184 Meetings are the specific form of administration. The villagers are not administered by a small group of autocrats who hold themselves in aloof dignity. All topics of interest to the villagers are discussed in meetings attended by them. At these meetings everybody is allowed to express his views and to defend his rights. Very often the atmosphere of meetings is one of violent agitation and high excitement. It will be recalled that in the ancient form of pastoral nomad government under tribal elders, final decisions were made only after the heads of families had had their say at public meetings. The Monguors, in spite of the passage of many centuries, and after having adopted a sedentary farming economy, still conserve this tradition of their old administrative routine. The public meetings are part of the specific character of government in a Monguor village.

These meetings are not held in the central stronghold built by order of the Chinese, and very seldom in the courtyard of the temple of the village, but in the open air. Every village has its designated place of assembly. Some villagers hold their meetings on the large threshing floor of a particular hamlet of the village; others at a fixed spot in the main valley; others at the foot of a mountain, etc. This tradition of a customary place of assembly, as well as the form of administration, bespeaks the old nomadic customs of the Monguors.

623 fendants unwilling to abide by the decision of the elders may have recourse to the T'u-ssu; but his verdict very seldom differs from that of the elders.

577 From the foregoing it can be seen that the concepts of the Monguors seem to be based on custom, tradition, and •184 what community opinion accepts as "just." Typical concepts are: wrongs are to be righted; injustices to be corrected; the rights of parents over their children, of husbands over their wives, and of widows to dispose of themselves, are to be asserted and defended; private property is to be protected; no one has the right to disturb the peace of the community. It is apparent also that among the Monguors the villagers in reality govern themselves. Although the elders are backed by the authority of the T'u-ssu, it is the villagers themselves who for the most part patch up their own quarrels, punish faults, right wrongs, and keep the peace.

The system is, in effect, one of democracy. It is only when these democratic practices do not work that recourse is had to the aid and protection of the T'u-ssu.

181 At the village meetings on the threshing floor, overwhelming stress is placed on faithful adherence to the old customs. One of the most important duties of village chiefs is to watch over their observance. The T'u-ssu, on his triennial visit, always makes inquiries on this subject, on which conservatism can be truly called hidebound. When Monguors, especially of the older generation, are heatedly discussing matters of the village, and the supreme argument of "old custom" is brought up, all opposition instantly subsides. The chiefs and elders of villages and the heads of families always urge the observance of traditions. They are firmly convinced that neglect of ancestral custom ruins the stability and prosperity of the clan. On every occasion the younger generation has this injuction dinned into its ears. The chiefs of the villages will curse other chiefs of villages, and T'u-ssu who are careless of old custom. The test of a good village chief or T'u-ssu is unshakable firmness in strict observance of the clan traditions as if they were as unyielding as the laws of nature.

177 When the Chinese Republic began in 1911, however, new ideas which had a baneful repercussion on the minds of young Monguors started to spread. It was almost a hopeless struggle for the elders to try to save the old customs. It then became apparent that the Monguors were in fact not sufficiently insulated from the pressure exerted by new ideas from outside their own society. Their social concepts had gradually been undermined and weakened by the enrollment of Chinese in their clans. Chinese concepts had, unnoticeably, long been seeping into their thought—Chinese had, it must be remembered, risen to be even village elders—and a situation had gradually been created in which the Chinese way of thinking, even if conservative in itself, was disruptive of the old Monguor concepts if it differed from Monguor concepts. [P. 80a]

/16 cont'd/

582 605 the mother in marriage and now we give you back her daughter to marry your son." The Chinese do not have this expression, as a scholar pointed out to me with a touch of scorn. When the daughter of brothers marries the son of her paternal aunt, which frequently occurs among the Chinese and the T'ou-jen, it is said of this alliance "that the niece goes to join her aunt."

584 184 At any rate one should not conclude from the above that today among the T'ou-jen all marriages are contracted, from generation to generation, regularly and necessarily, between members of the same families; one must not infer that the daughters-in-law in one family are always cousins; neither should one believe that people do not become united with "foreign" families in our use of the word. Present-day conditions are no longer those of former times; the truth is that [605 582] marriages between cousins (of brothers and sisters) are still very numerous. But since one family may be allied in this way to five or six others, and since one seeks avidly to remain always in the same circle of alliances, it is natural that unions between relatives will be more numerous than those between strictly "foreign" families.

582 This custom is of capital importance. Why does one seek and hold in such high honor these unions between families with which one already has former kin relations? This is an old and general custom. Why above all, is the notion of tao ts'in, "returning the marriage," considered to be sacrosanct among the T'ou-jen? When a brother asks his sister for a daughter to marry his son, she cannot refuse under any pretext. Why? No one knows. Why does marriage generally remain circumscribed within a restricted circle of families? Why should a practice so generalized and deeply rooted in custom have to be recalled in the traditional short speech of the master of ceremonies of the bride's family on the wedding day at the bridegroom's house, even when the /17/ husband and wife belong to absolutely unrelated families? Even then it is supposed that they were related a long time ago, and that the present marriage renews the old relationships!

581 To understand this practice, should one not recall that all the T'ou-jen formerly lived in a nomadic state? These groups living in the immense steppes of Asia had necessarily to look for support from other nomadic groups, wandering like themselves and seeking support

/120 cont'd/

361 331 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they arrive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage outside the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them; on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

608 184 583

562 194 177 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang tz'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan customs.

178 608 [177] How must one explain the deformation of the practice of husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

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562 588 593 speak, and when she has a son, then the brothers of the deceased will not have the right to demand his property for themselves. In addition, these same brothers who would not permit their brother to bequeath his property to his daughter and a son-in-law not adopted into the clan recognize the right of inheritance of a niece married to a prayer pole and of her children.

As long as the girl-mother stays home with her children, it is rare that difficulties arise; but often the situation changes when the woman is married at a "second" wedding /130/ and her children are still young. Then the woman's uncles, if she has no brothers, or these brothers if she has any, try to make her take her children with her and have them adopted by the new husband. They want to secure the property of the brother for themselves; for the property of the clan cannot pass to another clan. If the sons of the girl-mother are married at the time when she marries for the second time, there is no longer anything to fear for their rights. Let us note again that for these women, when they later remarry someone of their choice, there is no festivity as at the marriage of girls; they are satisfied with inviting a few neighbors. The second marriage can, in a way, be compared to a widow's marriage; however, such a woman will never have to fear being abducted.

The present case then is very strange in a society which, today, has strictly paternal descent. The fact that these rights are universally recognized is a sign that they date from far back; also the T'ou-jen cannot explain their origin and simply admit the fact.

B. Marriages to a Belt

588 184 574 837 These marriages, although they are as abnormal as those of the preceding series, nevertheless seem to constitute a separate series. First, they are practiced less than those we have just described, and then their origin does not seem to be the same. They find their explanation in the custom of offering, for the night, a girl or a woman to a passing guest; in short, it is prostitution for the sake of hospitality. (1)

/132 cont'd/

588 593 Chinese of Honan, accompanied by an uncle of the lady formerly married to the belt, accosted Hou Iu-leang and reproached him for having taken his wife. The latter no longer recognized the individual; but, since he had a witness, since the child was formerly called by his name and the mother had also born this name, the supposed husband felt himself very much within his rights and threatened Mr. Hou with a lawsuit.

/133/ Hou, fearing the heavy expenses of the Chinese courts and not sure of a fair verdict, preferred to settle the affair amicably. He called upon the heads of the village and those of his clan, and the conclusion was that Hou had to pay the unknown man 80 strings of cash and that the father who had sold his daughter had to offer him a sheep and make apologies to him. This story thus proves that this category of marriages is officially recognized among the T'ou-jen.

/134/ Chapter IV

Divorce, Repudiation, Exchange of Wives

586 184 One can expect divorces and repudiations, owing to the too great freedom which exists between the sexes. These two forms of termination of marriage rarely occur when there are several children in the family. Repudiation occurs more rarely than divorce, and the latter is not so frequent as one might suppose at first sight. Let us still remember that divorce and repudiation, like all the great acts [671] of life, marriage, adoption, etc., are effected without the intervention of law courts. As long as they can arrange things among themselves, they do not resort to the law; they call upon its help when all other means of conciliation are exhausted.

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen.
[179] Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs,
[177] casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

104

The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[29 cont.]

before the [30] individual acts by inflicting wounds with the sword, piercing his chest, licking red-hot iron, etc. Along with this instruction, which is contained in certain Tibetan books, the lama says the prayer of consecration over him.

Then the shaman rises and washes his hands, face, and head with the water from the lama's holy can. He must likewise first rinse out his mouth. Then barley is thrown over him and he is fumigated with incense. The lama takes the hada that he had slung around his neck, makes a knot in it, folds it together, sticks it in a little rectangular red or yellow bag, and hangs this around the shaman; it is the amulet of his tutelary spirit and is called "protective fort" (8). In place of this hada,

8. [Foreign text p. 32.] It is unclear whether this hada is the seat of the tutelary spirit. In any case it is to be regarded as a protective amulet.

or together with this hada, the shaman may also wear on his chest a large case containing the figure of his tutelary spirit (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 32-33.] The consecration ceremony might lead one to believe that the shaman is only capable of performing his office by means of it. In itself it has nothing to do with shamanizing. It is merely an official confirmation of one's capabilities, and also the people desire it. There are also shamans, however, who have not been consecrated in the monastery, especially among the people mixed with Chinese.

The consecration appears to admit the shamans to the position of lay monks, for among the monks there are also those who act as shamans and have certain prescriptions. Thus on the route from Hei-tsuei-tzu

[846 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

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[776]
[782]
[551]

Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[865 cont.]

782 776 Types of fire-pouring: There is a whole series of different fire-pourings, depending upon the deity concerned. Usually the fire-pouring is undertaken to honor the following deities: the horse-god, the cattle-god, the lion-god, and the water-faced Buddha.

[822] [866] Other types depend upon the color of the gods. Thus there is a red, yellow, white, and black fire-pouring. The tormas are also colored according to the colors of these gods, which they represent. Likewise, a special kind of wood is used for the 782 individual colors: for the red, tamarisk wood; for the yellow, [824] white thorn; for the white, poplar wood; and for the black, black thorn. The ceremonies are the same for the first three fire-pourings; only the prayers vary. -- The black fire-pouring in particular, however, deviates from the others (6).

782 184 6. [Foreign text p. 868.] Lamas report that there are many different types of fire-pourings, the four mentioned here being only the four main types, and that they have extensive books concerning the rites. -- The description of these orthodox Lamaistic rites would require a special study. In this connection, cf. Lessing, Yung Ho Kung (pp. 150-161). Only one of the many types practiced in the monastery is described there, and also only the phases "which can be easily observed by the inexperienced visitor" (p. 150) [cited in English]. Without going into a comparison with the above-described form, let it merely be pointed out here that the basic features are identical. Of the four main types characterized by Lessing, only the color agrees with the account given by my informant; he knew nothing

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.] about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The [302] lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They [792] also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.

[372] Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

[778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion professed by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the *Annals* concerning the building of Buddhist temples or monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerers and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345–439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural activities did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438–452).[22] From 445 until 635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on account of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them. (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 20*b*–24*b*). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 25*a*–31*a*). During the W[illegible]ai period (907–960) China was unable to control H[illegible]g-chung. The Sung dynasty (920–1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals*, ch. 31, pp. 1*a*–8*b*). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of Hsining relating to this period is compensated for by data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lo-tsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.[23]

[22] Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, " . . . when in the period T'ai-yen (435–440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

[23] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1949: 1; 1953: 11. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-

Buddhist, and Peking was a Buddhist city. However, the Mongols also favored all religions—shamanism, Nestorianism, Catholicism.

The impact of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty was limited to Peking. The number of conversions to Lamaism in Mongolia, and the number of monasteries, were insignificant, since when Altan, Khan of T'umed in 1578, proclaimed the Yellow Church the official religion of the Mongols, the Red Church was very nearly extinct. Possibly the appeal of Lamaism to the Mongols at that time was very limited because the marvels performed by the Red lamas (such as making rain, dispelling hail, predicting the future, rising in the air, subduing evil spirits, protecting the herds by sorcery) had already been performed by their own old shamans for centuries. So, for them, Lamaism could have seemed but another form of their own shamanism.

TA-FO-SSU

In the long list of monasteries and temples recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, there is mention only of the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the heart of the city, with the note: " . . . it is an old monastery built by the Mongols, to which was granted during the Hung-wu period of the Ming (1368–99), the inscription 'Pacified Tibetans' " (*Annals* ch. 15, p. 1*b*). The temple complex in 1915, although in a state of total dilapidation, gave evidence that it must have constituted a fine monastery in former times. The main temple (two stories high) contained three huge statues of Buddhas, nine meters in height. The ruins of four smaller temples were still in existence, as well as a great number of small rooms, the habitations of former lamas. This temple was built by the ancestors of the Li T'u-ssu who fulfilled in Hsining the important office of Yu-ch'eng at the end of the Yüan dynasty. The clan of the Li T'u-ssu belonged to the Ch'u-yüeh tribe of the Shat'o group which founded the Later T'ang and the Later Chin dynasties (923–947). The Shat'o were Buddhists, and the emperors of their dynasties liked to visit the caves of Lung-men where they prayed for rain and snow.[31] They honored especially the Buddhist deity, Pishamen (*Vaisrayana*), one of the "Four Heavenly Kings," guardians of the four directions.[32] This devotion must have been old, because it is said that "Li K'o-yung as a youth once prayed in the temple of Vaisrayana."[33] No wonder then that the Li clan built the celebrated Ta-fo-ssu. However, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, the Shat'o had two religions. Besides Buddhism, the old Turkish "God of Heaven" was still worshipped by them. After the conquest of North China, the Shat'o also worshipped the gods of the Chinese official religion.[34]

[31] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.
[32] *Ibid.*, 96.
[33] *Ibid.*, 92.
[34] *Ibid.*, 94. Schram, *op. cit.*, 30.

more astonishing is that the most potent rite performed by the shamans against hail is called, all over the country, the Rite of the White Tiger, and that inside the mound built at that time is buried the effigy of the White Tiger with the black rider. Even today they still call the black rider the leader of the whole group, but nobody is able to explain why he is represented with a coat of black paint. 756 776

The three essential elements of the old cult are still represented in the picture, the twelve warriors representing the animals, the White Tiger being the most prominent, and the leader being the Fang hsiang of olden times.

Still another conclusion is to be drawn from the tradition that in former times, before the revolts of the Moslems, the twelve warriors were represented as Mongol warriors, and the fact that the twelve warriors are called *Tengris*, the Mongol term for a "heavenly being," and not *shen*, the Chinese term for a "spirit," notwithstanding that they call the other spirits by the Chinese name. Therefore, it seems obvious that the ancestors of the Monguor shamans must have belonged to the groups of Mongols who were settled in the country of Huang-chung by the Yüan dynasty, and that they came to Hsining bringing with them their Tengris from Mongolia. Monguor shamans seem to be of barbarian rather than Chinese stock.

Still another problem remains unsolved. The Monguors are a fusion of two important groups, Mongols and Shat'o Turks. We seem to be able to detect the share of the shamans of the Mongol group in the shamanism of the Monguors, but what has been the share of the Shat'o group? To be sure, the Shat'o were as shamanist as the other Turkish groups of Asia. Did they practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris before they settled in the country in 939? What kind of shamanism did they practice? It would be very interesting to know something about the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the role of the White Tiger among them in former times, but no data are available concerning their shamanism and at present the shamanist practices in the different groups of Monguors seem to be all the same. 756 184 [174]

We only know that the Shat'o who founded the dynasties of Hou T'ang and Hou Chin, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, honored the old Turkish "God of Heaven." After their conquest of North China the Hou Chin emperor, in 927, made offerings at the winter equinox, outside the city, to the "Barbarian God" at the hill of the White Marshal. When the emperor died, two of his best horses were sacrificed on the Western Mountain. The horse was the most important offering among all the Turkish tribes. Sacrifices were made on the tops of mountains. They liked to worship mountains. The Shat'o liked to visit the Buddhist caves of Lungmen. It is well known that the Turks had a cave myth and that with it was connected a cave

[p. 88(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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cult—but in spite of these scanty facts our problem remains unsolved.[38]

MONGUOR SHAMANS—WU OF OLD CHINA—SHAMANS OF CENTRAL ASIA

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The leader of the twelve spirits is, according to the texts, the Fang hsiang, an exorcist belonging to the class of sorcerers who were specialists in the art of neutralizing all kinds of harmful influences and used by the princes for that purpose.[39] "This group, called *Wu*, was an old priesthood of China, spontaneously produced by the animistic religion . . . it still bore supreme sway in the former Han dynasty" (202 B.C.–A.D. 8).[40] The Wu included the kinds of male and female shamans that are encountered all over Asia (Wu are recorded among the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C.).[41] They were proficient in exorcising spirits of evil and illness, calling down gods and human spirits, going into trances and being possessed, telling the future.[42] Later the Wu were recognized by the official priesthood, who used them in their official ceremonies for calling down spirits and regulating the seats of the gods at sacrifices.[43]

In the *Chou-li*, 1122–256 B.C., are recorded the duties performed at court by these *Wu* sorcerers many centuries before our era, in summoning good spirits in order to drive out evil ones.[44]

Wittfogel and Feng write:

> In our translation we have called the *wu*, shamans. This term is generally used to designate the religious functionaries of Inner and Northern Asia, whose status does not depend upon an officially institutionalized position but is derived from power received "directly from the spirits as a gift or grant." In Asia two types of shamans may be distinguished—the arctic and subarctic. The latter exhibit less ecstasy and only rarely have recourse to frenzy or trance in the performance of their magic and prayers. Among the Ch'i-tan, as among most Altaic peoples, shamanism was definitely "subarctic" and possession was more the exception than the rule.[45]

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The Wu in China up to the present time act in the same way, using bells, drums, swords, scepter, whip, dagger, dancing, and the calling down of spirits.[46] At present they are called *Shih-kung* (masters). They represent themselves publicly as priests of Taoism.[47] Chinese law considers them as belonging to the wide class of secular Taoist priests.[48] The capacity of be-

[38] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerers and rulers*, 92-95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.
[39] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 200.
[40] J. J. De Groot, *The religious system of China* 6: 1206, Leiden, Brill, 1910.
[41] *Ibid.*, 1201.
[42] *Ibid.*, 1190.
[43] *Ibid.*, 1191.
[44] Edouard Biot, *Le Tcheouli ou rites du Tcheou* 2: 102, 103, Paris, Duprat, 1851.
[45] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 217. See also page 291, note.
[46] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212.
[47] *Ibid.*, 1245.
[48] *Ibid.*, 1251.

[p.88 (B)]

Om Mani. The rite may last for two or three hours, during which time two servings of tea are drunk. After the rite is finished, noodles are offered to the assembly. It is really edifying to see the courtyard crowded with people, kneeling and squatting close together, and to hear them repeat in unison, slowly and with devotion, after the cavernous voice of the lama, innumerable monotone Om Manis. One feels at that time that the Monguors are a religious people.

The custom of gathering at night to pray for the deceased seems to have been practiced by nomads long before Lamaism was born. Parker, dealing with the funeral rites of the Hsien-pi as translated from the Chinese annals notes: "On the day of the funeral the relatives and the intimates assemble at night time and sit in a circle; two men pronounce an incantation so that the soul may pass unmolested by the Ghouls to the red mountains." This fact is noted as having existed before our era, two thousand years ago. It is interesting to encounter at the same time of night a similar religious rite for the same purpose among the Monguors, who were formerly nomads. It is said by them that they are very fond of the rite.[34]

CREMATION [35]

During the six days preceding the cremation, three lamas (rich people invite five or seven) pray for the dead in a private room. On the sixth day a minor Living Buddha arrives with a couple of lama assistants. At night, after the departure of the guests, the lamas drive out the souls of the dead in the usual way, and throw the nefarious *torma* on a crossroad; the neighbors cry and shoot rifles. In the very early morning, the lamas pray before the corpse, beating drums and ringing bells, so that the awakened neighbors soon arrive. Tea is drunk, lamentations are made, and the sedan chair is carried at a fast pace to the place of cremation. It is not permitted to rest on the way, or to put down the sedan chair, lest the spirit of that spot be injured. At the moment of departure, the lamas adjure the souls not to come back.

Only among a few groups of Monguors are women, the daughters of the deceased, allowed to follow the cortege lamenting, supported and steadied by other women. Arriving at the spot they are invited to go back home; they receive a piece of cloth, a pair of trousers, and a gown in order to return easily. On a spot indicated by a Red lama or a Taoist priest the neighbors have built, the day before, a rudimentary oven which has an opening on each of the four sides. The master of ceremonies for the last time adjures the dead not to come back or to harm the family. The corpse is put in a caldron in the oven. The wood of the sedan chair, broken into pieces, is put in the oven. A lama strikes fire with a flint and lights the oven. Twenty

[34] Parker, *op. cit.*, 86.
[35] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 42.

/The Monguors/

on the luckless family.

The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

N *563 M 604 over his sister's children. His rights in this regard are manifested mainly in three cases: (1) upon the natural death of his sister's children, they cannot be buried without his permission. The maternal uncle is considered "master of the bones" of the deceased, and has the right to permit the burial, to impede it or to prevent it. (2) If they have been murdered or have committed suicide, he is required to initiate and execute vengeance for the blood of his sister's child. (3) When they are subject to punishment for violating the society's rules, the maternal uncle must punish the children of his sister. Such punishment may range from capital to very minor forms.

N *563 M 586 Divorce is extremely rare among the Mongours. So, too, are cases of repudiation or desertion by the husband. Schram does not mention the way in which a divorce is finalized, nor how long a waiting period, if any, after divorce before remarriage is permitted.

N *563 M 837 Cases of adultery are extremely rare in Mongour society. The people are engrossed constantly with the problem of making a living, and they have little time for complicated affairs. The close physical proximity of life in an extended family makes it extremely difficult for anyone's lengthy absence or a stranger's presence in the home to go unnoticed. Schram concludes that "The morality of the Mongours who live in villages and are occupied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that of the nomad Mongols. Mongour families on the average seemed to me to be happy families that work hard but enjoy life."

M [577] [184] [114]

N *563 M 562 852 [553]

first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [203] [604] [603] [553]

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

M [184]

N *563 M 302 [593] [888]

j. Beard-growing

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

N *563 M 764 [191] [190]

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

N *563 M 843 562

4. Popular beliefs

Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 789

If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.